

III. Narrow Tailoring

A. Race-Neutral Alternatives

Did Congress or the agency consider race-neutral means to achieve the ends of the program at the time it was adopted? Race-neutral alternatives might include preferences based on wealth, income, education, family, geography. In the commercial setting, another such alternative is a preference for new, emerging businesses. Were any of these alternatives actually tried and exhausted? What was the nature and extent of the deliberation over any race-neutral alternatives -- for example, congressional debate? agency rulemaking? Was there a judgment that race-neutral alternatives would not be as efficacious as race-conscious measures? Did Congress or the agency rely on previous consideration and rejection of race-neutral alternatives in connection with a prior, related race-conscious measure (or series of measures)?

B. Continued Need

How long has the program been in existence? Even if there was a compelling justification at the time of adoption, that may not be the case today. Thus, an agency must determine whether there is a continued need for the program. In that regard, does the program have an end date? Has the end date been moved back? Is the program subject to periodic oversight? What is the nature of that oversight -- does Congress play a role through hearings/reports, or does the agency conduct the review or oversight on its own? Has the program ever been adjusted or modified in light of a periodic review? What were the results of the most recent review and oversight conducted by either Congress or the agency? Is there evidence of what might result if the racial classification were discontinued? For example, is there evidence of the current level of minority participation in government contracting where racial criteria are not used (which may speak to whether discrimination can be remedied without a preference)?

C. Pool of Beneficiaries

Are the benefits of the program spread relatively equally among minority individuals or businesses? Is there information on whether the same individuals or businesses tend to reap most of the benefits, and if so, whether those beneficiaries have overcome discrimination? If the program is intended to remedy discrimination against minorities, does it include among its beneficiaries subgroups that may not have been discriminated against? Is there a procedure for tailoring the pool of beneficiaries to exclude such subgroups? Is there a mechanism for evaluating whether the program is needed for segments within a larger industry that have been the locus of discrimination?

D. Manner in Which Race is Used

Does the program establish fixed numerical set-asides? Is race an explicit requirement of eligibility for the program? If there is no such facial requirement, does the program operate that way in practice? Or is race just one of several factors -- a "plus" -- used in decisionmaking? Could the objectives of a program that uses race as a requirement for eligibility be achieved through a more flexible use of race?

E. Burden

What is the nature of the burden imposed on persons who are not included in the racial or ethnic classification that the program establishes? Does the program displace those persons from existing positions/contracts? Does it upset any settled expectations that they have? Even if that is not the case, the burden may be impermissible where the exclusionary impact is too great. What is the exclusionary impact in terms of size and dimension? What is the dollar value of the contracts/grants/positions in question? Does the exclusionary impact of the program fall upon a particular group or class of individuals or sectors, or is it more diffuse? What is the extent of other opportunities outside the program? Are persons who are not eligible for the preference put at a significant competitive disadvantage as a result of the program?

EXHIBIT I

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 19, 1995

July 19, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

SUBJECT: Evaluation of Affirmative Action Programs

This Administration is committed to expanding the economy, to strengthening programs that support children and families, and to vigorous, effective enforcement of laws prohibiting discrimination. These commitments reflect bedrock values -- equality, opportunity, and fair play -- which extend to all Americans, regardless of race, ethnicity, or gender.

While our Nation has made enormous strides toward eliminating inequality and barriers to opportunity, the job is not complete. As the United States Supreme Court recognized only one month ago in *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*, "[t]he unhappy persistence of both the practice and the lingering effects of racial discrimination against minority groups in this country is an unfortunate reality, and government is not disqualified from acting in response to it." This Administration will continue to support affirmative measures that promote opportunities in employment, education, and government contracting for Americans subject to discrimination or its continuing effects. In every instance, we will seek reasonable ways to achieve the objectives of inclusion and antidiscrimination without specific reliance on group membership. But where our legitimate objectives cannot be achieved through such means, the Federal Government will continue to support lawful consideration of race, ethnicity, and gender under programs that are flexible, realistic, subject to reevaluation, and fair.

Accordingly, in all programs you administer that use race, ethnicity, or gender as a consideration to expand opportunity or provide benefits to members of groups that have suffered discrimination, I ask you to take steps to ensure adherence to the following policy principles. The policy principles are that any program must be eliminated or reformed if it:

- (a) creates a quota;
- (b) creates preferences for unqualified individuals;

(c) creates reverse discrimination; or

(d) continues even after its equal opportunity purposes have been achieved.

In addition, the Supreme Court's recent decision in *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña* requires strict scrutiny of the justifications for, and provisions of, a broad range of existing race-based affirmative action programs. You recently received a detailed legal analysis of *Adarand* from the Department of Justice. Consistent with that guidance, I am today instructing each of you to undertake, in consultation with and pursuant to the overall direction of the Attorney General, an evaluation of programs you administer that use race or ethnicity in decision making. With regard to programs that affect more than one agency, the Attorney General shall determine, after consultations, which agency shall take the lead in performing this analysis.

Using all of the tools at your disposal, you should develop any information that is necessary to evaluate whether your programs are narrowly tailored to serve a compelling interest, as required under *Adarand's* strict scrutiny standard. Any program that does not meet the constitutional standard must be reformed or eliminated.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I, Ana Julissa Ayala, do hereby certify that I have this 21st day of August, 1995, mailed by first-class United States mail, postage prepaid, copies of the foregoing "**Petition for Reconsideration**" to the following:

*Reed E. Hundt, Chairman
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 814
Washington, D.C. 20554

*Ruth Milkman, Senior Legal Advisor
Office of Commissioner Reed Hundt
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W., Rm 814
Washington, D.C. 20554

*James H. Quello
Commissioner
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 802
Washington, DC 20554

*Catherine Sandoval
Office of Communications Business
Opportunities
Federal Communications Commission
2033 M Street, N.W., Room 250
Washington, D.C. 20554

*Andrew C. Barrett
Commissioner
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 826
Washington, D.C. 20554

*Jackie Chorney
Legal Assistant
Wireless Communications Bureau
Federal Communications Commission
2025 M Street N.W., Room 5002
Washington, D.C. 20554

*Rachelle B. Chong
Commissioner
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 844
Washington, D.C. 20554

*Christopher J. Wright, Deputy General
Counsel
Office of General Counsel
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 614
Washington, D.C. 20554

*Susan Ness
Commissioner
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 832
Washington, D.C. 20554

*Jonathan Cohen
Office of Plans and Policy
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 822
Washington, D.C. 20554

*William E. Kennard, General Counsel
Office of General Counsel
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W., Rm 614
Washington, D.C. 20554

***Mr. Donald Gips, Deputy Chief**
Office of Plans and Policy
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 822
Washington, D.C. 20554

***International Transcription Services**
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 246
Washington, D.C. 20554

***Robert Pepper, Chief**
Office of Plans and Policy
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 822
Washington, D.C. 20554

***Michael Katz, Chief Economist**
Office of Plans and Policy
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, N.W.
Room 822
Washington, D.C. 20554

***Ralph A. Haller, Deputy Chief**
Wireless Telecommunications Bureau
Federal Communications Commission
2025 M Street, N.W.
Room 5002
Washington, D.C. 20554

***Gerald P. Vaughan, Deputy Chief**
Wireless Telecommunications Bureau
Federal Communications Commission
2025 M Street, N.W.
Room 5002
Washington, D.C. 20554

***Regina Keeney, Chief**
Wireless Telecommunications Bureau
Federal Communications Commission
2025 M Street, N.W.

Room 5002
Washington, D.C. 20554

***John Greenspan**
Wireless Telecommunications Bureau
Federal Communications Commission
2025 M Street, N.W.
Room 5202
Washington, D.C. 20554

***Rosalind Allen**
Acting Chief
Wireless Communications Bureau
Commercial Radio Division
Federal Communications Commission
2025 M Street, N.W., Room 5202
Washington, D.C. 20554

Robert B. Nicholson
U.S. Dept. of Justice
Antitrust Section, Main Justice Building
Room 3223
10th & Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Larry Irving
National Telecommunications and
Information Administration
U.S. Dept. of Commerce
14th & Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20230

**National Association of Minority
Telecommunications Executives and
Companies**
Suite 500
One Thomas Circle
Washington, D.C. 20005

Peter J. Mitchell
Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense
& Education Fund, Inc.
Suite 280
220 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Henry Rivera and David Honig
Minority Media And Telecommunications
Council
3636 16th Street, N.W. , Suite AG-58
Washington, D.C. 20010

Raymond Utzeta, Executive Director
Chicano Federation of San Diego County
P.O. Box 620116
San Diego, CA 92162

Jeffrey W. King
Keith J. Harrison
King, Pagano & Harrison
1730 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
Attorneys for QTEL Wireless, Inc.

James L. Winston
Walter E. Diercks
Rubin, Winston, Diercks, Harris & Cooke
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036
Attorneys for The National Association of
Black Owned Broadcasters, Inc.

*Amy Zoslov
Acting Deputy Chief, Auctions Division
Wireless Telecommunications Bureau
2025 M Street, N.W., Room 5322
Washington, D.C. 20554

Shelley L. Spencer
Airlink
c/o Swidler and Berlin, Chtd.
3000 K Street, N.W., Suite 300
Washington, DC 20007-5116

John D. Lane
Wilkes, Artis, Hedrick & Lane, Chtd.
1666 K Street, N.W., Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20006
Attorneys for Assn. of Public
Safety Communications

Officials-International, Inc.

Edward Hayes, Jr.
1155 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008-1158
Attorney for Allied
Communications Group, Inc.

Lewis J. Paper
Keck, Mahin & Cate
1201 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
Attorney for Cellular Service, Inc.

James H. Johnston
2000 M Street, N.W., Suite 550
Washington, DC 20036
Attorney for Chase
Telecommunications L.P.

J. Roger Wollenberg
William R. Richardson, Jr.
Lynn R. Charytan
Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering
2445 M Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20037
Attorneys for DCR Communications, Inc.

Thomas J. Casey
Marc S. Martin
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom
1440 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
Attorney for General Wireless, Inc.

William D. Chamblin, III
Vice President
Infocore, Inc.
661 Moore Rd.
King of Prussia, PA 19406

Celeste M. Moy
William Malone
Miller, Canfield, Paddock & Stone
1225 19th Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
Attorneys for Michigan
Telecommunications Group, Inc. f/k/a
P&H Wireless Communications, Inc.

Jack E. Robinson, President
National Telecom
Clearwater House
2187 Atlantic Street
Stamford, CT 06902

Sherrie Marshall
The Marshall Company
2121 Avenue of the Stars
Suite 3120
Los Angeles, CA 90067

Lawrence R. Sidman
Julia F. Kogan
Kathleen M. Cronin
Neil H. MacBride
Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard,
McPherson & Hand, Chartered
901 15th Street, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005-2301
Attorneys for GO
Communications Corp.;
U.S. Airwaves, Inc.

Parren J. Mitchell
Anthony W. Robinson
Minority Business Enterprise
Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.
900 2nd Street, N.W., Suite 8
Washington, DC 20002

Charles E. Helein
Helein & Waysdorf, P.C.
1850 M Street, N.W.
Suite 550
Washington, DC 20036

Attorney for Oneida Tribe of
Indians of Wisconsin

Michael Walker, Executive Director
National Paging & Personal
Communications Association
2117 L Street, N.W.
Suite 175
Washington, DC 20037

Joel Silverman
4589 Via Vistosa
Santa Barbara, CA 93110

James A. Casey
Fletcher, Heald & Hildreth, P.L.C.
1300 North 17th Street
11th Floor
Rosslyn, VA 22209
Attorney for Prairie Island
Dakota Community

Carlos V. Roberts
Senior Vice President
Spectrum Resources, Inc.
307 Annandale Road, Suite 101
Falls Church, VA 22042

Thomas H. Sullivan
Vice President & General Counsel
Telecorp, Inc.
5610 Wisconsin Avenue, Suite 1207
Chevy Chase, MD 20815

Law Office of John D. Pellingrin, Chtd.
1140 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 606
Washington, DC 20036

Thomas A. Hart, Jr.
Michael Henningburg, Jr.
McManimon & Scotland
1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20004-2404
Attorneys for Minority Media, et al.

Jonathan D. Blake, Esq.
Kurt A. Wimmer, Esq.
Covington & Burling
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
P.O. Box 7566
Washington, D.C. 20004

William J. Franklin, Esq.
William J. Franklin, Chartered
1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20006-3404

Philip L. Verveer
Jennifer A. Donaldson
Willkie Farr & Gallagher
Three Lafayette Centre
1155 21st Street, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20036-3384

Kenneth R. Cole
Vice President
Century Telephone Enterprises, Inc.
100 Century Park Drive
Monroe, LA 71203

Ellen S. Deutsch
Jacqueline R. Kinney
Citizens Utilities Company
P.O. Box 340
8920 Emerald Park Drive, Suite C
Elk Grove, CA 95759-0340

John A. Malloy, General Counsel
Jill M. Foehrkolb, Dir. of Legal Affairs
Columbia PCS
201 N. Union Street, Suite 410
Alexandria, VA 22314

Joe D. Edge, Esq.
Mark F. Dever, Esq.
Drinker, Biddle & Reath
901 15th Street, N.W. Suite 900

Washington, D.C. 20005

Gail L. Polivy
GTE Corp.
1850 M Street, N.W.
Suite 1200
Washington, D.C. 20036

Thomas A. Karl
President
Karl Brothers, Inc.
P.O. Box 53040
Fairbanks, AK 99711

Matthew L. Leibowitz
Joseph A. Belisle
Karsten Amlie
Leibowitz and Associates, P.A.
One South East Third Avenue
Suite 1450
Miami, FL 33131

Cathleen A. Massey
Senior Regulatory Counsel
McCaw Cellular Communications, Inc.
1150 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., 4th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20554

W. Chris Blane
President
Metrex Communications Group, Inc.
Five Concourse Parkway
Suite 3100
Atlanta, GA 30328

Benjamin H. Dickens, Jr., Esq.
John A. Prendergast, Esq.
Susan J. Bahr, Esq.
Booston, Mordkofsky, Jackson & Dickens
2120 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Henry Solomon, Esq.
Amelia Lrown, Esq.
Haley, Bader & Potts
Suite 900, 4350 N. Fairfax Drive
Arlington, VA 22203-1633

James I. Wurtz
Pacific Bell Mobile Services
1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

David L. Nace, Esq.
Marci E. Greenstein, Esq.
Lukas, McGowan, Nace & Gutierrez,
Chartered
1111 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1200
Washington, D.C. 20036

Patricia Diaz Dennis, Esq.
Sullivan & Cromwell
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Robert H. Kyle
President, Kycom, Inc.
96 Hillbrook Drive
Portola Valley, CA 94028

Doris S. Freedman, Esq.
Barry Pineles, Esq.
Office of Advocacy
United States Small Business
Administration
409 3rd Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20554

Robert E. Levine, Esq.
Latrice Kirkland, Esq.
Mullin, Rhyne, Emmons and Topel, P.C.
1225 Conn. Avenue, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20036

Paul C. Besozzi
J. Jeffrey Craven

Besozzi, Gavin & Craven
1901 L Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

Martin T. McCue, Esq.
United States Telephone Assoc.
1401 H Street, N.W., Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20005

George Y. Wheeler, Esq.
Koteen & Naftalin
1150 Conn. Ave., N.W., Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036

Mark J. Golden, CAE
Vice President - Industry Affairs
Personal Communications
Industry Association
1019 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20036-5105

Daniel C. Riker
President & CEO
DCR Communications, Inc.
2550 M Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20007

Encompass, Inc.
Two Ravinia Drive, Suite 1205
Atlanta, GA 30346

Curtis White
Allied Communications Group, Inc.
4201 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 402
Washington, D.C. 20008-1158

William D. Jimerson
Alliance Telecom, Inc.
34 Woodbine Road
Pittsford, NY 15534

Melodie A. Virtue
American Women in Radio and
Television, Inc.
Haley, Bader & Potts
4350 N. Fairfax Drive
Suite Number 900
Arlington, VA 22203-1633

Timothy E. Welch, Esq.
Hill & Welch
Suite 113
1330 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Daryl L. Avery
Public Service Commission of the
District of Columbia
450 5th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Veronica M. Ahern
Nixon, Hargrave, Devans & Doyle
One Thomas Circle
Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20005

Joseph Profit, Sr.
Chairman
Communications International Wireless
Corporation
NAMTEC
521 5th Avenue, Suite 800
New York, NY 10017

American Portable Telecommunications,
Inc.
Attn: Rudolph H. Hornacek
30 N. LaSalle Street, Suite 4000
Chicago, IL 60602

Frank Michael Panek, Esq.
Ameritech Services
2000 W. Ameritech Ctr. Drive
Location 4H84
Hoffman Estates, ILL 60195-500

AT&T Wireless PCS, Inc.
Attn: Cathleen A. Massey
1150 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., 4th Flr.
Washington, D.C. 20036

William B. Barfield
Jim O. Llewellyn
1155 Peachstreet Street, N.E.
Atlanta, GA 30309-3610

Charles P. Featherstun
David G. Richards
1133 21st Street, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20036

Centennial Cellular Corporation
c/o Richard Rubin
Fleischman & Walsh, L.L.P.
1400 16th Street, N.W., Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20036

Walter K. Hartenberger
Laura H. Phillips
Richard S. Denning
Dow, Lohnes & Albertson
1255 23rd Street, N.W., Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20037

Kathy L. Shobert
Director of Federal Affairs
GCI Communications Corporation
901 15th Street, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20005

R. Michael Senkowski
Katherine M. Holden
Eric W. DeSilva
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

James P. Tuthill
Betsy Stover Granger
4420 Rosewood Drive, Bldg. 2
4th Floor
Pleasanton, CA 94588

Michael K. Kellogg
Jeffrey A. Lamken
Kellogg, Huber, Hansen, Todd & Evans
1300 I Street, N.W.
Suite 500 East
Washington, D.C. 20005

William L. Roughton, Jr.
PCS PRIMECO, L.P.
c/o AirTouch Communications, Inc.
1818 N Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20036

Jay C. Keithley
1850 M Street, N.W.
Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20036

W. Richard Morris
2330 Shawnee Mission Parkway
Westwood, KS 66205

Poka Lambro Telephone Cooperative, Inc.
11.5 Miles N. of Tahoka, TX on US 87
P.O. Box 1340
Tahoka, TX 79373-7234

Joel S. Winnik
Marvin J. Diamond
Julie T. Barton
Hogan & Hartson, L.L.P.
555 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-1109

Michael F. Morrone
Michael R. Bennet
Keller and Heckman
1001 G Street, N.W.
Suite 500, West

Washington, D.C. 20001

Wayne Watts, Esq.
Carol Tacker, Esq.
Southwestern Bell Mobile Systems, Inc.
17330 Preston Road, Suite 100A
Dallas, TX 75252

Stephen G. Kraskin
Silvia Lesse
Kraskin & Associates
2120 L. Street, N.W. Suite 520
Washington, D.C. 20037

Louis Gurman
Gurman, Blask & Freedman, Chartered
1400 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20036

Tara Kalagher Giunta
Reid & Priest
701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
Attorney for TTW Communications, Inc.

Cheryl A. Tritt
Eric N. Richardson
2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 5500
Washington, DC 20006
Attorneys for Sprint
Telecommunications Venture and
PhillieCo. L.P. and Wireless Co. L.P.

Anthony L. Pharr
Office of Communication
United Church of Christ
2000 M Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036

Gloria Borland
Gloria Borland Hawaii PCS
2030 M Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036

Lois E. Wright
Inner City Broadcasting Corp.
Three Park Avenue, 40th Floor
New York, NY 10014

Donald J. Evans
William J. Sill
Nancy L. Killien
McFadden, Evans & Sill
1627 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 810
Washington, DC 20006
Attorneys for Giles Television, Inc.

David Cosson
National Telephone Cooperative
Association
2626 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20037

Mark J. Tauber
Emilio W. Cividanes
Mark J. O'Connor
Piper & Marbury L.L.P.
1200 19th Street, N.W., 8th Floor
Washington, DC 20036
Attorneys for Omnipoint Corp.

Richard G. Hill, Chairman
National Indian Gaming Assoc.
904 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

Peter Nguyen
Chief Executive Officer
InTouch PCS, inc.
175 West Jackson Blvd., Suite 1529
Chicago, IL 60604

Michael C. Campbell
Vice President & CEO
Roseville Telephone Co.
P.O. Box 969
Roseville, CA 95678

Robert H. Kyle, Chairman
The Small Business PCS Assoc.
96 Hillbrook Drive
Portola Valley, CA 94028

Peter A. Casciato, P.C.
8 California Street, Suite 701
San Francisco, CA 94111
Attorney for Comtech, Inc.

Robert A. Hebert
President & CEO
Jackmont Telcom, Inc.
100 Peachtree Street, N.W.
Suite 2275
Atlanta, GA 30303

Ashton R. Hardy
Hardy and Carey, L.L.P.
111 Veterans Memorial Blvd.
Suite 255
Metairie, LA 70005
Attorney for Radiofone, Inc.

A. Thomas Carroccio
Santarelli, Smith & Carroccio
1155 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
9th Floor
Washington, DC 20036

Jeffrey D. Trotter
Director of Business Operations
UniComm PCS
2403 W. Vina Del Mar Blvd.
St. Petersburg Beach, FL 33706

Robert Sparks, President
Century Communications, Inc.
4311 Hanson Rd.
Ellensburg, WA 98926

Richard L. Vega, Sr.
Chairman
The Richard L. Vega Group
235 Hunt Club Blvd.
Longwood, FL 32779

Robert P. Ito, President
Asian Business Assn. of San Diego
4350 Executive Drive, Suite 236
San Diego, CA 92121

Leonard J. Kennedy
Jonathan D. Hart
Judith A. Mather
David E. Mills
Dow, Lohnes & Albertson
1255 23rd Street, N.W., Suite 500
Washington, DC 20037-1194
Attorneys for BET Holdings, Inc.;
Page Call, Inc.


Ana Julissa Ayala

***Hand Delivery**